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## MR. BOTTS' ADDRESS.

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MR. PRESIDENT, BRETHREN OF THE ORDER, AND GENTLEMEN:—

I appear before this vast concourse of my fellow-countrymen, to-day, in obedience to an invitation, extended to me by the Order of United Americans, of which organization I am proud to be regarded as a worthy member, to deliver an address, on this the 127th anniversary of the day that gave to the world, for the benefit of mankind, our common father, the immortal and heavenly gifted WASHINGTON.

It is due to the Order that I should correct a silly report, which has found its way into the press, that the object of this occasion was to put me fairly on the course for the next Presidency. That their objects were wise and patriotic, I have never doubted, but that they reached to this exalted and sublime height, they have certainly given me no reason to believe.

It is due to myself to say, that when I was honored with the invitation, I accepted it only on condition:—I said to the Committee, I am no Fourth of July speech-maker, for I have neither the genius nor the imagination that would fit me for such a style of oratory; but ours is a political organization, designed to accomplish patriotic, political results, for the common benefit of all who are interested in the perpetuity of our institutions, and I can conceive no more appropriate occasion for an inquiry into the political condition of the country than on the birthday of Washington; if, therefore, it shall be agreeable to the Committee, and to the Order of which you are the representatives, that I should undertake to show the deplorable condition to which it has been reduced, the causes that have led to it, and the remedies to be applied, in which I shall necessarily deal, with an unsparing, but a just hand, with the democratic party, to which all the evils and calamities that have befallen us are to be traced, then I will venture an attempt, and endeavor to present such views as are calculated to arrest the public attention, with a confiding trust they may prove beneficial to our common country.

These conditions were accepted, and I am here to discharge the task I have undertaken.

Any attempt at an appropriate or suitable eulogy on the virtues and services of Washington—of whom it was as beautifully as it was graphically and justly said, “He was the first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen”—would be as far above the reach of my limited capacity as his imperishable name and fame are above the necessity for eulogy—and beyond the reach of envy, jealousy, calumny or detraction.

Washington stands out from all the rest of mankind, alone, without a rival, and without a peer. Between himself and others, comparisons are not instituted, because all acknowledge his superiority, and the best would suffer by the contrast; for not only in every clime where civilization has extended its blessings, but even among the savage and barbarous tribes, the name of Washington is known and revered as among the sagacious, the *most wise*; as among the unsullied, the *most pure*; and among the good, the *best*.

It is not, then, in a vain and idle desire for an ostentatious and pedantic display of oratory, or of learning (to which I set up no pretensions) that I am here to-day. It is not to reap in a field, where nothing is left to glean, that I come to harvest; it is not of Washington that I come to speak, but of those great works of which he was the chief and mighty architect; the liberties of the people and the union of the States, for which he fought in the battle-field and labored in the Council Chamber, and which, having at length perfected and set in order, he transmitted to us, his unworthy children, as the richest inheritance ever bequeathed to humanity, in sacred trust, to be handed down by us unimpaired to our children and their descendants for generation upon generation yet unnumbered and unborn.

That there have been, and still are, those who occupy high positions in society, eminent places in the Government, and who enjoy a large share of the respect and confidence of those by whom they are surrounded at home, who neither appreciate the virtues and services of their ancestry, nor the advantages and blessings of the Union, we are furnished with abundant evidence, not only through the public press but in our daily intercourse with the world, and in our common walks of life; and although we see it not unfrequently happen that such men, by inflammatory appeals to the sordid passions or sectional prejudices of a more honest and confiding constituency, manage to worm themselves into official stations, sometimes even as the representatives of States, yet I do not believe that there is a single State in this Union that has become so basely degenerate, so unspeakably depraved, as to calculate its value by dollars and cents, whether for the cotton of South Carolina, the negroes of Virginia, the mules of Kentucky, the hogs of Ohio, the lands of the West, or the manufactures of the North.

The representatives of the people are not always to be taken as a just index of the sentiment of those they represent. My own State has furnished more than one nullifier, secessionist and disunionist to the public councils; but I take both pleasure and pride in paying a just tribute to the integrity and patriotism of the constituent bodies they left behind them when they went to Washington, by declaring they are as true and as sound and loyal on the questions of the Union, as were their forefathers in the days of the Revolution; then if you ask me why they select such men to represent them, I answer, 1st, because they cannot be made to believe the Union is in danger; and 2d, because it is the result of party spirit and party organization.

Yet it is unquestionable, that there has been a change in public sentiment,

in some sections of this country, within the last twenty years; men are now found who habitually indulge in a freedom of speech through the public press, upon the hustings, and in the social circle, which, if whispered around the domestic hearth, but little over a quarter of a century ago, would have subjected the perpetrator of the treasonable outrage, to the unceremonious application of a coat of tar and feathers, and a ride upon a rail, that would have cured the worst case of chronic dyspepsia; but now, the sound of disunion, the ravings of sectional madmen, the clamors of disappointed aspirants and demagogues, who will submit to no construction of the Constitution that is not of their own interpretation, and to no administration that is not of their own selection, have become so familiar to our ears, that instead of their being visited with the unqualified condemnation, the indignant wrath, the scoffs and hisses of an offended populace, we see the prime movers, the chief offenders, boldly stepping forth for places of the highest public trust,—and wise, and virtuous, and patriotic men, who should stand aghast at the sublimity of their audacity, under the inexorable rule of party discipline, help them into office, whilst they abominate their detestable doctrines, upon those most important points—but whilst “charity covereth a multitude of sins,” Democracy covereth charity, and obliterates all sin.

How many of those, who, but a short time since, were threatening to tear this Union asunder, and involve us in all the horrors of civil strife, if a majority of the people of this country, in the exercise of their constitutional and sovereign right, should elect a candidate to the chief magistracy of the nation, not of their own section of the country, and not of their own party (for *there* lay the true secret), are now to be found, graciously tendering their own services for this same great trust, and with a degree of effrontery which defies description, claiming to belong to the only national party, and the only party, that can save the Union, or preserve the Constitution!

Let the people beware how they intrust this sacred legacy to the hands of those who have ever harbored a design to destroy it, or calculated its cost by sectional or pecuniary advantages.

It would not only be a flagrant breach of trust, reposed in us by those who executed the deed,—but it would be a crime against God and man, that would ascend to heaven, and excite the wrath of an offended Deity. Let them trust it only to those who value it for itself alone, and for the inestimable and countless blessings it has bestowed.

And here it might be well to stop, and inquire for a moment, who they are, and where they are to be found? I am happy to say that there is but one party in this country, divided and subdivided as we are, in which that class of men are recognized or found, and that is the party, which claims “*par excellence*” to be the *national party*—the only party “*that can save the Union.*” “The state rights republican democratic party”—God save the mark! No man that belongs to the Whig party—no man that belongs to the American party—no man that belongs to the Republican party, so far as I know—no

man that belongs to the great opposition party—is an advocate for disunion ! for the moment he becomes contaminated or tainted with this foul, and odious, and detestable heresy, he falls out of the ranks of the opposition party, and walks straight into the ranks of the *Imposition party*, where he can find sympathy and aid, and comfort, from his brother democrats ; and this of itself is enough to brand that party with suspicion and distrust, and to arouse the energies of every patriotic heart, to frown down upon them, as an unsafe and dangerous political organization ;—it is the only party that will recognize and fraternize with disunionists, and the number of these, whatever it may be, is to be found in their ranks, and theirs only ;—let the good men, let the patriotic men, who love their country and its institutions, come out of it—and leave it to die the death it deserves ; and if they will not, if they still persist, if honest, well meaning, and patriotic men (as the great mass of them are) still adhere to the enemies of their country—let them also, through our united and untiring efforts, share the fate they will have brought upon themselves, and which they will so richly deserve.

Let it not be supposed that I entertain any apprehensions for the fate of the Union : not at all ! This Union has the elements of strength within itself, to enable it to meet and crush all rebellion from within, and all assaults from without.

All that is needed is a bold, fearless, determined man, at the head of the Government, who will discharge his duty faithfully, without fear, favor, or affection, when the necessity shall arise, and trust to the laws, and the good sense and patriotism of the country for his support. But there can be no security for its safety whilst the Government is in the hands of those who prefer power to union ; or who will be subjected to the influence or control of that faction, whose support will be essential to the continuance of their power.

The influence of a portion of these disorganizers upon the present administration, has been made too painfully manifest, within the last fifteen months, to require a more specific reference.

If there was one turbulent spirit in Paradise, who preferred “to reign in Hell rather than serve in Heaven,” it is perhaps not to be wondered at, that of Lucifer's kind some should be found amongst us, who prefer to be at the head of a rebellious and treasonable movement, rather than live in obscurity, and die “unknown, unhonored and unsung ;” but, as Lucifer was hurled headlong from on high for his audacious and rebellious spirit, so should these agitators and disturbers of the public peace—these advocates of disunion, be hurled from the high places they desecrate, and their names be handed down with obloquy and dishonor, on the page of history, as an example and a warning to future generations.

I would as soon confide the helpless lamb to the tender mercies of a ravenous wolf, as to commit this Union to the safe keeping of one who had ever dared to raise his voice, or harbor a thought, for its destruction. I would not tolerate a party that gives countenance, and sympathy, and the right hand

of fellowship and cordiality to those who do, or have meditated treason to our glorious and thrice blessed Union; achieved by the wisdom of patriots, cemented by the best blood of our ancestry, and consecrated in the affections of all good and worthy men.

Having said this much on the subject of the Union, and those who would disturb its harmony,—for I will not stop to speak of its advantages and blessings, apparent to all, except a besotted and crack-brained portion of Democracy—let us take a glance at the demoralized and ruinous condition in which we find the country, at home and abroad, under the control of those who have held the reins of Government for thirty years, the causes that have led to it, and the remedies to be applied. And first, let us see how we stand, at this day, in our relations with the civilized world at large.

By reference to the annual message of the President, it will be seen, that we have troublesome questions—complications they are called—to be settled, with no less than nine different powers—any one of which may, at any time, involve us in a general war with the whole; and out of some of which war *will* be manufactured, if it should be deemed necessary, in the next Presidential campaign, to make such an issue in order to retain that party in power.

But I hope before they bring this calamity upon the country, they will be admonished that the party, that will involve us in unnecessary strife, is not the party that will be the most likely to bring us out of it with advantage and honor to the nation.

It appears, from the message of the President, that we are involved in trouble with England—and, of course, with France, as the ally of England—Spain, Mexico, Nicaragua, Costa Rico, New Grenada, Guatamala, and Paraguay.

A nice little batch of quarrels, truly, for this great nation to work itself into. If a man is found quarreling with everybody he meets, the world is very apt to pass sentence of condemnation against him, on the presumption that one who involves himself in trouble with all, is not likely to be himself wholly blameless; this is a natural judgment to be pronounced, both against an individual and a nation; and what is it that has involved us in so many difficulties? It is either the want of proper energy or disposition on the part of our Government, to discharge its duty faithfully to the country, and to mankind; it is either a culpable timidity in the execution of the laws, or it is a still more criminal desire to acquire strength and popularity, with a peculiar class of citizens, by ignoring all laws and winking at its flagrant violation in open day. It is the countenance that has been given to the lawless spirit of filibusterism, as it is politely termed, which is nothing more and nothing less, than a war of desperate lawless men against the property and the rights of the rest of mankind, in whatever region or climate the prospect of private fortunes and success may invite them.

How is it that one man has been permitted to set the whole Government at



defiance?—to raise his troops—charter his vessels—ship his men and munitions of war, and sail from the ports of New York, New Orleans, and Mobile, in defiance of the law and all its officers, with the proclamation of the Executive to stop it? and when he is arrested by a naval officer, in strict obedience to the spirit of his orders, (for it was no more a violation of the laws of neutrality to arrest him on the territory of Nicaragua than on the waters within the jurisdiction of Nicaragua, and to which the letter of his orders extended), and when he is brought home an offender against the laws of his country, he is discharged, not only without punishment, but without reproach, and is turned loose only to repeat his former offenses.

Look at the case of Walker: he chartered a vessel in New Orleans, sends 300 men with arms and munitions of war on board, evidently, and almost acknowledgedly, on a filibustering expedition against a defenseless people with whom we were on terms of peace; he is then arrested and carried before a federal judge, who released him on \$2,000 bail, which was promptly paid by those who were acting in concert with him, and sympathizing in all his movements, he repairs on board and sets sail from New Orleans for Nicaragua; the facts are communicated to the head of the Government, orders are issued and sent out to the American squadron not to permit him to land—he is arrested immediately on landing—he is sent home an offender against the law of his country—he is delivered to the authorities at Washington by the marshal of this district, and the President, upon whose proclamation he has been arrested, and who, in his message to Congress, in 1857, rebuked Judge Caleb for the insufficiency of bail required, coolly informs the marshal, through the Secretary of State, that *he* has no use for Mr. Walker, and seems to treat it as a very officious and impertinent thing in Marshal Rynders to trouble them with General Walker's affairs, who is further discharged with no bail at all, and turned loose to get up another expedition, that set sail from Mobile in open day on another piratical cruise, which, by the interposition of Divine Providence, was arrested, and the honor, in some degree, and perhaps the peace of the country saved, alone by the accidents of the sea which befell these marauding men.

Is it within the compass of human credulity, that such scenes as I have described could have happened, if there had been a real and honest desire, as by paper proclamation would have appeared, to have executed faithfully the laws that the President was sworn to support?

If we can persuade ourselves that all is fair and honest, can we hope to make the other powers of the world believe it? Does any man believe, that with the means at the disposal of the Government, the African slave trade can be successfully carried on, and two cargoes of Africans landed on our Southern coast, if there was an honest desire to prevent it?

The law is strong enough, why is it not enforced?

Aye, there is the question. Who are these filibusters and African slave dealers? To what party do they all belong? I am happy to say I have never



heard of a member of the Whig or American parties, to both of which I belong, who has given any countenance to these lawless proceedings; they belong to the Southern Democracy, whose support, with that of their friends, is essential to the perpetuation of democratic ascendancy. The moment one of any other party becomes a filibuster, or an African slave trader, he seeks the company that suits him, and straightway joins the Democracy or Imposition party, where alone he can meet with sympathy.

How does our democratic President propose to treat these questions of foreign difficulty? Look to his message and to his organ, "the Union," and shudder while you read. He makes the astounding proposition, which, twenty-five years ago, would have startled this nation from its centre to its circumference, that all the guards and barriers of the Constitution shall be unhinged, that all defenses shall be broken down, and that Congress shall divest itself of the war-making power, and transfer to him, the President, not only the power of making war, but that he shall have control of the army and navy of the United States to protect the three transit routes of Nicaragua, Panama, and Tehuantepec, and to authorize him to establish a protectorate in the States of Chihuahua and Sonora, within the territory of Mexico; such protection as the Emperor Nicholas proposed to extend to the provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia, and which led to the late war between that power and the combined forces of England and France. Our President has ascertained that there is a "sick man" on this continent, for whom he proposes to become a dry nurse; and the pretext for this is, that there is no power in the Mexican government to restrain its lawless citizens from depredating on the rights of others. What has this government to do with Protectorates and nursing of sick men? Let us be careful how we set bad examples. I have just shown that there was either no power or no disposition in this government to prevent our own lawless citizens from depredating on the rights of others;—and why may not other powers, with equal propriety, undertake a Protectorate for our Southern border, until the government of the United States furnishes some evidence of its ability to restrain the lawless mobs of filibusters from bidding defiance to all lawful authority at home?

And, to enable the President thus to carry out his designs, which amount in themselves to actual war, and will be so regarded, not only by Mexico, but by all the world, it is proposed by the Union newspaper, the home organ of the President, published under his eye, and subject to his control, that an appropriation of \$20,000,000 shall be made by Congress, and placed at the disposal of the President. If there be occasion for war with Mexico, or any other power, let war be declared in the only legitimate mode, by the war-making power of the United States; for when we have once gotten into it—whether by the indiscretion of the President, or by design, in order to divert public attention from the misdeeds of democracy, or for the purpose of introducing a new issue into the next Presidential campaign—we shall have nothing left us to do but to fight it out.

War is at all times a sad calamity to befall any people, but, in the name of humanity, if we are to have it, let us have just grounds for it—so that we can stand justified before Heaven, and in the face of the world; and, at all events, let us not break down all our constitutional palisades and restrictions in order to seek it.

Nor is this the only infringement of the Constitution proposed by our democratic President.

He seeks to acquire Cuba—by fair means if he can, by foul means if he must—for he first says, “We would not, if we could, acquire Cuba in any other manner than by honorable negotiation.” This, he says, is due to our national character, and yet he does not finish the paragraph before he reasserts the doctrines of the Ostend Manifesto, and thinks a case *may* arise which would render a departure from honorable negotiation clearly justifiable, under the imperative and overruling law of self-preservation, when, as a matter of course, we would *steal it*—and, from the next succeeding paragraph, we might naturally conclude, that the case that would justify stealing had about this time arrived.

But I have spoken of another proposition to break down the Constitution, and transfer the treaty-making power from the Senate of the United States to the President, for he modestly asks at the hands of Congress an appropriation to enable him to make an advance to the Spanish government (or it may be to the Spanish ministry) immediately after the signing of the treaty, without awaiting its ratification by the Senate, and his political and confidential friend in the Senate has proposed that the sum of \$30,000,000 shall be placed at his disposal for this purpose, and his party followers in both Houses have reported bills to this effect.

Then the President is to be authorized to negotiate a treaty, at a cost of \$30,000,000, after which, the Senate may exercise the high prerogative of ratifying the treaty or of throwing \$30,000,000 of the people's money to the dogs.

Now, then, here is the proposition, first to place the army and navy of the United States at the disposal of the President, with authority to make war, then transfer to him the treaty-making power; and, last of all, to put the purse-strings of the nation in his hands, by the appropriation of the enormous sum of \$50,000,000, to accomplish all the ends he has in view; and now, I ask the people of this country, what will be left of their Constitution worth preserving.

Yet, this is Democracy! This is the only national party! This is the only party that can be safely trusted, to save the Union and preserve the Constitution! This is the National, Constitutional, States' rights party, which has appropriated to itself, exclusively, all the offices, honors and emoluments of office for the last thirty years, with rare intervals of exception, and exercised the most intolerant proscription against the purest, wisest, and most experienced men of the opposite party, that have at any time adorned the country.

It is time that such a party was crushed out, and its organization dispersed ; for, as I hope to be able to prove, it has operated as a blight and mildew on the prosperity, happiness and peace of the country, wherever its horrid deformities have been seen and felt, whether in the National or State governments.

Half a century cannot put my own State in the condition she ought now to occupy, and would have occupied, but for its pernicious councils and its injurious influences.

It is not in opposition to the acquisition of Cuba that I speak, but to the manner in which it is proposed to be acquired ; the man has not been born with whom I would entrust the power asked to be lodged in the hands of Mr. Buchanan ; the case cannot arise, for the accomplishment of which I would do such violence to the Constitution. If the Father of his country were alive I would not confer such powers upon him. Not from an apprehension that his integrity would be too weak to resist the temptation, nor that his ambition would be so strong as to lead him into an abuse of the power, but that I would not set such an example, or establish such a precedent, for all the Island of Cuba could ever be worth to us. Fifty millions of dollars, and the army and navy, all subject to the control of the President, with the express grant of power to make war and purchase territory during the recess of Congress at his own discretion ! What President have we had, before this, who could have presented so startling and so monstrous a proposition, without exciting the alarm and indignation of every man in the country ? Could Santa Anna have claimed more as Dictator in Mexico ? Are there additional powers for Louis Napoleon to exercise in France, than to have the control of the army, the navy and the treasury of France ?

If Cuba can be obtained in any fair, honorable and constitutional mode, as an important point of defense for a portion of our Southern border, and the Gulf of Mexico, the American Mediterranean, and as a means of obliterating the inhuman traffic in African slavery, which, I think, constitutes its chief importance to us, I would not be the one to interpose an objection—but if it is only for the purpose of raising some new issue for helping a Democratic nominee into the Presidency, as the slavery question has become threadbare and worn out—and Southern Whiggery can no longer be humbugged by it—if it is for the purpose, either now or hereafter, of creating new cause for sectional strife, then I would much prefer to have nothing to do with it. But can it be purchased at all ? I think not ; certainly for the present ! What, then, is the appropriation of \$30,000,000 for ?—first, to provoke some cause for making a descent upon it, and seizing it under the Ostend doctrine—and then, so time it as to make *that* a great issue in the Presidential election, in 1860.

It would be better, at all events, to have it understood in advance what ultimate disposition is to be made of it, before it is acquired in any form ; and for that reason I should prefer its postponement until it could be

obtained by those in whose patriotism and political integrity I have more confidence than I have in the leading men of the Democratic party, and who will procure it, if at all, without the destruction of the Constitution.

So much for our foreign policy and our complications with other powers. Let us now see how we stand in our home relations, under this iron sway of Democracy. When we turn our eyes in that direction, we find the nation

"rent with heresies,  
And bustling with rebellion."

Southern leagues, Mormon wars, Kansas troubles, sectional strife, Congressional corruption, purchased legislation, insufferable extravagance, public plunder, confidence destroyed, trade paralyzed, manufactures closed, vessels rotting at your wharves, labor idle, industry discouraged, the people impoverished, your treasury bankrupt, lawless mobs and vigilance committees usurping the judgment seat, overawing the officers of the law, and bidding defiance to all legal authority, and this is what the Democracy boastfully call "*a state of unparalleled prosperity.*"

This is a sad and sorrowful, but true, picture of our real condition; would that it were not so, and would that my mind could be relieved of the mournful reality that it is so.

This is not idle assertion: it is historic truth, known to every well-informed man in the country, and which must appear at some future day on the page of history, if that history shall ever be truly written.

Let us investigate the truth of each, in its regular order:

That there is a body of men in the South associated together as a "Southern League," whose object is openly avowed to be to bring about a dissolution of the Union, which, in legal definition, is a conspiracy to levy war against the United States, and of which no notice has been taken by those who are intrusted with the sacred charge of preserving the integrity of the Union; and that *that* body of men is composed entirely of democrats, whose votes at the polls are necessary to the continuance of democratic power in this government, are facts that none, I presume, will be bold enough to deny.

That there was a Mormon war, in which the then Governor of the territory of Utah openly defied the legal authorities, and forcibly resisted the entrance of the military forces of the United States, cutting off and destroying large quantities of provisions and wagon trains, which war has been discreditably compromised, when the traitor's head should have paid the forfeit of his rebellion, none can successfully dispute: and we may well anticipate a renewal of hostilities and treason, at an early day, after the entire removal of the troops.

That the country has suffered from the Kansas troubles, and from sectional strife, which threatened to destroy this great temple of liberty, and that it was all brought about by the aggressive and encroaching spirit of Democracy, by the disturbance of a long-settled and satisfactory compromise, for their political aggrandizement only, few at this day will venture to gainsay.

That there has been Congressional corruption, purchased legislation, insuf-



ferable extravagance, and public plunder, to an extent unknown and unparalleled before, under Democratic example and misrule, the numerous committees that have been appointed to investigate Congressional abuses and corruptions, the records of Congress will prove. And I have lately seen it published that, on the failure of some Western or North Western railroad company, the President stated that one of the chief causes of its failure was that the enormous sum of \$700,000 had been paid to procure the passage of the bill through Congress, which has passed by as an every-day occurrence, hardly worthy of notice.

That confidence has been destroyed, trade paralyzed, manufactories closed and sold out under the sheriff's hammer, that vessels are rotting at your wharves for want of employment, that labor is unemployed and industry discouraged, that the people are impoverished, and the treasury bankrupt, that the Government is supported by loans, and the issue of treasury notes, and all this in a time of profound peace, and all, too, under a long reign of Democratic legislation and control, the knowledge of all intelligent and candid men will testify.

That lawless mobs and vigilance committees have assumed the judgement seat, and evaded or overawed the legal authorities of the country, the scenes that have transpired in this city, in Baltimore, Mobile, New Orleans, and California, all bear evidence.

Now all this has not happened within the last few years, without some controlling cause. It is not a matter of mere chance and accident. There is a reason for it, and that reason ought to be investigated, and a corrective applied.

What, then, is the cause? It has been occasioned, first, by the disorganization of society, arising from a too rapid introduction of the foreign element into our social and political organizations, before they found a place suited to their wants, before they found the means of living, or had acquired a knowledge of our institutions, or cared for their successful operation. Secondly, for the want of employment to the general labor of the country, which has been persistently refused by the Democracy, and which has led to dissipation, rowdyism, vice, and all the other concomitants of idleness; and, thirdly, by the example set in high places of an unfaithful administration and execution of the law; and, lastly, by the improvident and unwise system of legislation as established by the Democratic party:—in refusing to protect the fruits of the industry of the country, whilst the vicious and corrupt are courted and caressed, shielded and protected wherever they have the power to control a popular election.

To correct all this it will not do to lop off a branch here and a branch there—you must begin at the root: you must institute a new order of things in Washington; you must purify the Government and all its officers; and then the people will become pure, or will be deterred from committing such scenes of violence and disorder as I have described.

I do not mean to say, because I do not believe, that vice and corruption pervade the entire body of Democratic politicians, although there is far too much of it in politicians of all parties, and none are too good to bear watching; but it is the nature and character of their organization, which is the most perfect, compact, and formidable that ever controlled a party, that leads to all these mischiefs—it is the system and policy they pursue, and to which few of them do not subscribe; and when they do not, they are excluded from the flesh-pots—which is the severest punishment known to their code;—that policy is to make all things bend to success; to sacrifice all things human and holy to the ascendancy of party, and the perpetuation of power; neither the lights of experience, the peace of the country, the harmony of sections, the preservation of the Constitution, the safety of the Union, the prosperity of the nation, the purity of the bench, the sanctity of the church, neither one nor all these combined, are allowed to break through the serried ranks of their political organization, which has no principle for its basis, and no manly incentive for its conduct.

At the behest, and by the example of Democracy—party politics have entered into our courts, of high and low degree, its influence is to be felt in the jury-box, and to be seen in the witness-stand; it is as much a part of the policy of that party, to make Democracy a portion of the education of the youth of the country, by the appointment of Democratic teachers and professors, as it is a part of the policy of the Roman Catholic church to make all Catholics, by the exclusion of the bible from our common schools.

Never, never was a more thorough knowledge of a party displayed than when one of its chiefs, who assisted at its birth, said, "It was a party held together only by the cohesive power of the public plunder." Suppose Mr. Clay, whose relations to the Whig party were more constant, but not more close, had said this of us, as a warning to his countrymen; who can measure or calculate the effect it would have produced on the honest and well-meaning patriots of our own party? yet in what respect has it disturbed the Democracy, except to make them the more grasping, the more rapacious and the more active, in carrying out this one, and only principle?

Still I say, I do not attribute vice to all the leaders of that party, many of whom are sound hearted, and, on general subjects, sound headed men; for there are among them, men who, in all the private and social relations of life, are as honorable and estimable men as live—but I would not trust them as politicians, in connection with the organization to which they belong, and to which an implicit obedience is demanded.

How many of them, who, to my knowledge, voted against their judgments and their consciences, for the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, which has brought so much mischief on the country—purely and simply, because it was required of them as a party measure. Men, like the lamented Rusk of Texas, with as honest and gallant a spirit as the Senate could boast, who told me on the day of the night on which that vote was taken, that in all his life he had



never done anything so much against his own judgment as he was about to do, in voting to repeal that compromise.

Let Gen. Cass, who is an honest man and a patriot with nothing more to expect at the hands of his party, be asked at this day, if he did not then think "the man who would defeat the passage of that bill, would be entitled to rank as the greatest benefactor of the age."

Look, again, at Mr. Hammond, who is personally unknown to me, but who has publicly confessed, that he voted against his own convictions of duty for the Lecompton Constitution, which *thought, as I think*, "ought to have been kicked out of the Senate."

I select these gentlemen as the most honorable, the most distinguished, and among the most favored of their party, holding seats in that body, which, from childhood, we have been taught to look up to as the great conservative branch of the government; removed by the period for which they are elected from those influences that would naturally operate elsewhere; and when we see such men as these in such positions as they occupied, thus tied down by party discipline, I ask what have we to expect from inferior men in inferior places, many of whom have no other wish and no other hope than to live on popular favor at home, and on the public crib abroad?

What other than the Democratic party, bloated with arrogance, and glutted with confidence in their own strength, would have dared to disturb that healing measure of compromise which had given peace to a distracted country for thirty-four years, only for the purpose of making a new issue by which they might, as they thought, more certainly retain their ill-gotten power.

What mighty ills have not grown out of that disturbance?

The legislation of our wisest and best men, of our most experienced statesmen, a long unbroken current of judicial decisions for sixty-four years, as expounded by Marshall, and Story, and Baldwin, and Washington, all swept by the board at one fell swoop, and the ship of state turned loose upon the waves of faction—to-ssed, and strained, and worn, drifting no one knows where, and encountering no one knows what: striking upon the rock of popular sovereignty here, the shoal of squatter sovereignty there, upon which she is thrown, first upon her beam ends and then upon her bows, struggling and straining for relief—and with no pilot at hand, and no helm, nor compass, nor sail, nor mast, nor spar to run or guide her into port. Yet, notwithstanding all this, she will neither strand, nor founder, nor wreck, but, in defiance of the mismanagement of all on board, she will ride triumphantly upon the waters—find her way into port—be brought into dock, overhauled and repaired, and again launched with officers and crew that will put her on her old track and weather every storm; but no thanks for this to her present officers and crew, but to her own stout frame and superior sailing qualities.

But what shall be done with those who have perpetrated this grave offense? Shall they go unwhipped of justice; or shall they pay the penalty of their guilt?

How stands the question now of the power of legislation for the territories? Does it remain where the Constitution placed it, where it had been exercised for sixty-four years, and where the judicial tribunals of the country had decided it to exist—in the Congress of the United States? or does it abide in the territories themselves?

We have some new theory broached on this subject almost every day, because from the moment they departed from the old landmark, they have been baulking, and blundering, and stumbling from bad to worse, like a blind horse in ploughed ground, simply for the reason, that there was no path to follow, and no road to travel, and no sign-post to guide; and you must get back to the Constitution, and the power must remain where it was lodged by the Constitution—in the Congress of the United States—before matters will get straight again.

This power Congress has no authority to transfer; they have no choice but to exercise it themselves. If the power is given to Congress to legislate for the territories, they have no more right to divest themselves of that power and transfer it to the Territorial Legislatures, than they would have to divest themselves of the war-making power, and transfer it to the *State* Legislatures. And if the power is not vested in Congress, where do they derive the power by *legislation* to transfer the authority to the territory? This proposition is too plain and simple to embarrass the mind of any statesman. Away, then, with all new-fangled theories and experiments of popular and squatter sovereignty unknown to the Constitution. It is sheer nonsense and folly; there can be no harmony of action, no peace, no agreement as to the power, until this wild heresy is abandoned and the Constitution is restored to its original action, and to its true interpretation. If, then, I am asked, as I often am, what about Senator Douglass' new theory of squatter sovereignty, I answer, according to the terms of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, he is all right; but, according to the Constitution, he is all wrong, essentially and radically wrong: extra-judicial political opinions that have been made to hinge upon the Nebraska bill, and not upon the Constitution, to the contrary notwithstanding.

This is a position that no argument can refute and no sophistry evade. It is constitutional law, settled and carried out in practice by better and wiser men than those of the present day, and *judicially* decided and expounded by a pure, upright, and independent judiciary, who had no political objects to accomplish, and no party to serve or obey.

To the masses of Democracy I cannot and do not impute any other motives than such as control us in the Opposition. I believe they are as honest in purpose, and patriotic in design, as the masses of the Opposition; but in the Southern States, where alone Democracy remains triumphant, they are misled by demagogues and shallow leaders, who have wormed themselves into their confidence. They are kept, too, in a state of profound ignorance and darkness, by the fact that nearly the entire South is represented by the Democracy—who keep the country flooded with nothing but Democratic documents,

which never expose Democratic misdeeds. From my own State, we have fifteen Democratic representatives in the two houses of Congress, not one of whom, I presume, ever sent an Opposition speech or document into the State; or if they did it was sure not to be to a member of the Democratic party—from whom all such precious documents are withheld. I say this as an apology for the condition of things that exists in Virginia. But, if they could have the same opportunity that has been held out to the North, to see for themselves to what condition Democracy has brought the country, they would be as willing to throw off the galling yoke as have been the Democracy of Maine, New Hampshire, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Illinois, all of which they were once proud to number in their ranks.

I am not prepared to admit that the Democracy of Virginia are more benighted and ignorant than the Democracy of the other States; nor are they less patriotic, nor are they less interested in good, wholesome, salutary legislation, if they were only afforded the same facilities for forming a sound and correct judgment.

Have I said too much of the sacrifices this Democratic party is at all times prepared to make of principle, or consistency, in obedience to party spirit, and party fealty? Let us see; and if I have, let me be visited with public condemnation, as one who has calumniated their good name and fame.

I will not go back into those old, hackneyed questions, such as Internal Improvements by the General Government—nor of what they have *professed* in their platforms, and *practiced* in Congress—for all that, I discussed in the campaign of 1856—in what is commonly known as my African Church speech. I will confine myself to issues of a later day.

In 1848, there was not a Democrat in the Southern States who did not especially repudiate and eschew the doctrine of Squatter Sovereignty—as set forth in Gen. Cass' famous Nicholson letter, and who did not strictly deny its liability to such an interpretation. In 1854, there was not one Southern Democrat in either House of Congress that did not vote for this identical Squatter Sovereignty doctrine, which constituted the basis of the iniquitous Kansas-Nebraska bill; and now, in 1858, again they are as much opposed to that doctrine as they were in 1848.

Does this, or not, establish their claim to principle or consistency?

Again, it was but a few short years since, that the entire South supported the Missouri Compromise, in Congress and out of it, as a thing too sacred and too holy to be touched. In the Legislature of Virginia it was declared, by a vote of 117 to 13, that any attempt to repeal that compromise would be a just cause for a dissolution of the Union, and “that it would be resisted at all hazards, and to the last extremity.” In 1854, every Southern Democrat in both Houses of Congress, voted, as a party measure, to repeal that Compromise, and every Southern Democratic paper, public speaker, and voter, without an exception, as far as my knowledge extends, supported them to the very echo—and I, myself, was fiercely denounced, as a traitor to the South, for

resisting its repeal ; and there were some whose rash and intemperate zeal so far outstripped their Democracy and discretion, as to counsel my expulsion from the State for my treasonable opposition to the disturbance of our peace.

Does this, or not, establish their claim to consistency or principle, or does it show their readiness to yield both to party dictation and party success ?

In 1854, *non-intervention* was the universal cry of Democracy, South ; now they begin to find non-intervention don't pay, and already they raise the cry of *intervention*, as indispensable to the protection of their property and the preservation of the Union. Perhaps they may rest their claim to principle and consistency on this sudden transformation.

They claim to be a State-rights party, and utterly deny that any man can be a friend to the rights of the States who does not attach himself to their Democratic organization.

Well! in the course of my reading and my experience, I have known of but few instances in which there has been any attempt on the part of the General Government to interfere with, or encroach upon the rights of the States ; and those few are very striking and very remarkable instances, as well as of transcendent importance, and of very recent date, and have all originated and been sustained by the Democratic party.

The first case was that of the Lecompton Constitution—in which the doctrine was asserted by a States-rights-Republican Democratic President (for that is the title they have assumed to themselves), and strenuously attempted to be carried out, in Congress, that it was in the power of the Federal authorities, to legislate one of the Territories of this Government, as a State into the Union, with a Constitution which had never been submitted to the people for ratification, on the avowed ground, that if submitted it would be rejected, and against which seven-tenths of the people of that territory were then remonstrating and protesting ; a doctrine that struck a death blow at the basis and foundation of our revolution ; a doctrine that denied both the right and the capacity of the people for self-government ; a doctrine, the advocacy of which, in the absence of party machinery and party demands, there was not one of its advocates within the broad limits of this nation whose standing and popularity could have withstood the storm of popular indignation and wrath with which he would have been overwhelmed ; a doctrine that was the most anti-Democratic, anti-Republican, anti-State rights, anti-constitutional, anti-common sense, and anti-common-honesty doctrine that was ever propounded to the American people ; and yet there was not one Southern Democrat, in either House of Congress, that had the consistency, the principle, or the independence to vote against it. And it is an historical fact, never to be forgotten or overlooked, that the only party in this country that could be found to give it their support was the Democratic-Republican-States-rights party, and that *that* fraction of the party, claiming “par excellence,” to be the true and genuine Simon-Pure, States-rights wing of the party, gave it the most earnest and active support.

For my own part, having just returned from abroad, when this question was raging with its greatest violence in Congress, I stood by, an inactive, but not an unconcerned spectator, feeling that if the final result should show that the power and influence of the President had become so omnipotent and overwhelming, or that the people had become so debased and indifferent to their own rights and the enjoyment of free government, as to have submitted patiently to such outrageous and intolerable oppression and wrong, that then, there was no despotism in the Old World, under which I would not as soon have lived as under the tyrannical and iron despotism of Democracy.

Thanks to God! the doctrine did not prevail; and thanks to God! the people are resolved to be left free, to choose their own form of government, in defiance of bribes offered on the one hand, and the threats on the other of the Democratic-Republican-State-Rights party that now holds the reins of government in its hands, I trust for a limited period only; for if after this they shall be retained in power, the moral effect and virtue of the action of the people will have been thrown away.

Does this action of the party indeed constitute Democracy? If a case parallel to this *could* occur in England, it would drive any ministry into everlasting disgrace, if no more. In France, it would produce a revolution that no power of government could resist. In Russia, it would be regarded as an act of detestable tyranny, against which the serfs themselves would rebel. Yet, here, it is claimed as evidence of Democratic consistency, and adherence to the principles of true Democracy.

Look, again, at the question of the admission of Kansas under a new constitution. Every Southern Democrat has already voted for its admission, under a constitution that the people of Kansas have disavowed, rejected and spurned. They were offered admission with their 35,000 population, if they would ignore all that had passed, stultify themselves and yield obedience to the dictation of the Federal Executive and Congress; and now, since they have indignantly rejected the bribe, and spurned the threats which accompanied it—it is recommended by the representative of the Democratic-State-Rights party, that one rule shall be adopted for the admission of Kansas, and another for Oregon and all the other Territories of the United States.

May we not ask, in the name of Heaven, what has this Government come to? In what direction are we drifting? What haven are we to reach? Is this Democracy? Is this justice? Is this honesty? Is this constitutional liberty? Is this what our fathers fought for? Is this State-rights? Is one territory to be left free to form a government to suit itself, and another to be required to frame one to suit the President or the Democratic party? Is this the way the President hopes to put down agitation, and restore harmony to our already distracted country? Yet, where is that party which looms up in bold relief, for the equality and sovereignty of all the States? Where is that Democracy that is always loud-mouthed in proclaiming the equality and sovereignty of the people?



But perhaps the most glaring outrage ever yet perpetrated, or proposed against the rights of a State, may be found in the action of the Democratic party in the Senate of the United States, in relation to the two Democratic Senators who were confirmed in their seats, when there were no authorized legal contestants to dispute them, and at a time when their votes were supposed to be necessary for the passage of the Lecompton Constitution, or the English Montgomery bill, as it was called—and who were alleged to have been elected in violation of the Constitution and laws of Indiana; and now, when the Legislature of that State has elected two other Senators, according to the provisions and requirements of their Constitution, and sent them, as the representatives of her sovereignty, to Washington, they find the doors of the Senate chamber rudely closed against them, on the ground that the Senate being made the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members, the case is adjudged by their own *ex parte* decision, and they have no power to go behind their own act, to ascertain whether or not fraud or wrong has been committed. This case partakes of the nature of the Lecompton case, and raises the question, as to whether the Senators of Indiana shall be elected by the legislative body of that State or by the Democratic party in the Senate of the United States.

I have no time to enter into an argument of this case, but call attention to it as one of *grave* and *great* consideration, which would not have been raised with any Southern State in this Union; and if it had been, would have led to consequences ever to be deplored—and as it is, I presume, we have not yet heard the last of it—for a greater outrage I cannot well conceive—yet I have heard no one voice raised against it by the State-rights party of the South.

One other attempt at encroachment on the rights of the States must not be overlooked, and to which I beg to call the attention of the country, and I can conceive of few cases, calling more loudly for the anathemas and denunciations of the State-rights party, and for their interposition in defence of the rights of the States.

I allude to the recommendation of Mr. Buchanan in his message to Congress, in 1857, and again, after twelve months deliberation, repeated in 1858, that Congress shall pass a Bankrupt law, to be applied to the State corporations, or Banking Institutions created by the States. That is to say—the power being conceded to the State governments to create incorporations, they now claim for the general government the power to destroy.

Each government is supposed to be distinct in their several organizations; each State government, sovereign and independent of all the rest, so far as their State governments are concerned, and each likewise, separate, distinct and independent of the Federal Government in the exercise of all those rights not granted to the general government.

Yet, here is a State-rights Democratic President claiming the power, and twice recommending the passage of a law by which Congress takes under its



guardianship the institutions of the States, as created by State authority. Take my own State for example, and I only take that because I know more of the interest held by that State in her banking institutions than I do of any other.

In Virginia, there is not an incorporated bank in which the State itself is not a large stockholder, nor is there a railroad corporation in which it has not an interest of three-fifths or more. A crisis, such as we had in 1857, comes on; the banks throughout the country suspend specie payments; they apply to the State Legislatures to legalize the suspension, which is done, and then comes in the Congressional law to force them into bankruptcy. Here is a conflict between the State and Federal governments—which is to prevail? As a State rights man, always prepared to stand up manfully for every legitimate right of the States, I maintain that it is a paradox to suppose that the power is anywhere given to one government to create, and to another to destroy.

If the State of New York has the constitutional and legal power to incorporate her banks, she has the power to authorize or legalize a suspension of specie payments, whenever she thinks the interests of her people require it; and there is no power on earth that can legally interfere with it. The government of the United States has no more authority to counteract the legislation of New York, than the Russian or British government would have. Yet, there is the proposition, a second time made, after an interval of a year, by a State-rights President; and if the State-rights party do not adopt it, it is because they have lost all confidence in the President of their choice, or because they regard him as a setting star, whilst some star of greater magnitude is rising in a different quarter; but certainly, they have raised no outcry against it, as an attack on the rights of the States; and coming from the head of the party, they must be held responsible for it as a democratic proposition until they have unequivocally repudiated and condemned it.

Where then rests the claim of that party to the credit of being either the States rights or Democratic party of this country?

Within the last eighteen months we have passed through a commercial revulsion that has destroyed confidence, blasted credit, locked up capital, crippled the revenues of the country, left the public treasury bankrupt, brought us all into a condition that requires a prompt and speedy remedy, and the Democratic party, that is responsible for the whole of it, continues to present to the country, through the public press, in their political speeches and public documents, every variety of cause but the true one.

Certainly, there was some leading cause for such a catastrophe, which is worthy of investigation, and which if not removed, or if permitted to continue, must lead to similar results, at some future, perhaps no very distant day. The men of means and capital—the men of business and energy—who are most interested in looking into and correcting this great evil—are so engrossed in their daily pursuit after the almighty dollar, each one struggling with his neighbor to see who can be the first to grasp it, and who seem not

to care either for the cause or for the remedy—and upon whom, at last, the necessity will devolve, of demanding in a voice not to be disregarded, such a change in the political economy of the State as will secure them against similar disasters in future—are those who interest themselves the least about it, and, without stopping to examine for themselves, suffer the most idle and absurd theories to pass current, as authority no more to be disputed than divine revelations.

We can engage in no more important task on this day of jubilee, than to institute inquiries and set the public mind to work upon this all-absorbing question.

Some (and among them the President) ascribe it to the expansion of bank credit, and he declares that these “periodical revulsions, which have existed in our past history, must continue to return at intervals as long as our present unlimited system of bank credits shall prevail;” and the only remedy he suggests is the passage of a law, by the general government, to force the banking institutions of the States into liquidation and bankruptcy, whenever another revulsion shall occur that will drive them into a state of suspension, although suspension may be legalized by the authorities from which they derive their existence; and occur again it must, if the present system is not speedily changed.

Let us grant for a moment that the President is right, in ascribing this widespread ruin to its true cause. In what manner does his proposition, to lock the stable door after the horse had been stolen, remedy the evil? It must be perceived that, if the banks could foresee or apprehend the trouble they might have to encounter, they would contract their issues in time to avoid the danger. But they cannot, and did not, and, therefore, a Bankrupt law, which would have a final and not a remedial effect, would have answered no beneficial purpose.

Now, I put it to the intelligent business men of New York to say if such a Bankrupt law had been in existence in 1857—and instead of the suspension of your banks being legalized by the State Legislature they had been forced into bankruptcy—whether it would have proved a remedy for, or an aggravation of the evil.

Would the country, at this day, have been better or worse off than it is now, if all the banks in the United States that suspended specie payments had been forced into liquidation and closed?

I venture to say that such a state of desolation and universal ruin never fell to the lot of any nation of people as would have fallen upon us. It was bad enough as it was; but we have reason to be thankful that this democratic expedient had not been resorted to in time to have made it a hundred-fold worse.

But, is it true that there was such an expansion; or if there was, that it was the cause not only of the unexampled national distress in this country, but that our banking system had deranged the monetary affairs of the whole

commercial globe ; or is this a mere expedient of Democracy to divert attention from the real cause ? In the first place—if it were true, it would only prove the necessity for putting down all such ill-regulated institutions, or of establishing a National Bank that would, as in all other countries is done, furnish a currency that would constitute a circulating medium for its own citizens, with which you could travel and trade in any part of the Union, without a discount at every turn, and that would, as the old bank did, keep the State banks in check, and correct the tendency on their part to over issues.

I do not propose a bank of the United States. I only mean to express, as my individual opinion, that no financial agent of the Government has yet been adopted or proposed, that in all respects was more free from constitutional objections, or answer so good a purpose, as would a properly guarded and well conducted national bank. But go on and let the Democracy continue the operations of their experimental sub-treasury, which withdraws \$80,000,000 a year from the purposes of commerce, trade, and manufactures, and we shall all see what will be the end of it.

I will only take occasion to say here, that I have always believed it was a mere question of time, and that, sooner or later, we shall be compelled to resort to it again, unless something far different and better than the sub-treasury should in the meantime be suggested.

But everybody knows that there was no such universal expansion, and every intelligent man ought to know that if there had been it would have produced no such results.

Large expansions certainly lead to over-trading, and over-trading leads to ruin and distress on the part of those who indulge in it ; but whilst that over-trading is confined at home, neither the capital is lost, nor is the property destroyed. There is always something to represent both ; but when you trade abroad, and spend a great deal more money in foreign countries, for articles of annual consumption, than your income or means will justify, then comes the ruin—which all the banks and bankrupt laws in christendom cannot avert—and *that* over-trading may be done upon the credit of the importer, as well as upon the credit or expansion of the banks ; but this is not the place that I propose to discuss that question—I will come to that after I have disposed of the causes assigned by Democratic wisdom and financial skill.

The next reason urged, which seems not to have been without its influence, is that our people were too extravagant, lived in costly houses, bought costly furniture, kept luxurious tables, drove fast horses, and finally built too many railroads. Admit that all this was done, I pray to know, how that could have produced *national* distress that would have affected the financial affairs of England, France, Austria, Holland, Prussia, Denmark, Sweden, and Russia, and all the rest of the commercial world.

Suppose a man comes suddenly to an estate of a million, and he builds costly houses—furnishes them extravagantly—pays high prices for fast horses—keeps an extravagant table—lives greatly beyond his income, and finally

runs through his whole estate by extravagance, dissipation and gambling—this will certainly occasion individual and family distress; but how the nation can be injured by the accumulation of a million being distributed among the bricklayers, carpenters, plasterers, paper-hangers, butchers, bakers, merchants, and breeders of fast horses, or gamblers, all of whom spend it again, I confess is far beyond my comprehension.

In like manner, in regard to the construction of railroads. We have received from California some six or seven hundred millions of gold in the last twelve years. Now, suppose that has all been laid out in railroads, they have certainly served to open the country—develop its resources—increase its productions—furnish the way to market, and have increased the value of the lands greatly beyond their cost—and although the stockholder may not receive a dividend on his stock, and may be a great sufferer and loser, yet neither the work, nor the money that built it has been thrown away. Subscriptions to these stocks may have ruined those who built the roads, and occasioned individual and family distress, yet they would not produce a great national disturbance, for the money has only gone out of the pocket of one man, who had it before, into the pockets of many that were without it. It has gone from the stockholders to the contractor; and from the contractor to his laborers and manufacturers; and from them, through their operatives, to the butchers, bakers, merchants, grocers, boot and shoe makers, hatters, farmers, &c., &c.; and has thus been scattered through the general community—by which the multitude are benefited, although the few may be impoverished; and the more that is spent by the millionaires of the country in this way, the better for the whole. But, when, instead of digging your own coal, and making your own iron, and giving employment to your own labor, you leave it idle and unprofitable, and you send \$500,000,000 of the seven, out of the country, to be laid out in the iron and other manufactures of Europe, never to be returned, then you send out what ought to be kept at home, and thus impoverish the nation.

These truths must be so apparent and self-evident to all right-thinking men, that I will not occupy more time in refuting Democratic reasons for our disasters, but come at once to what I submit to the intelligence of the country as the true cause of all our pecuniary troubles. It is because we have fastened upon us, by Democratic legislation, the wildest, most absurd, most unexampled, and most self-destructive financial and commercial system that ever dragged a nation down from the highest eminence of prosperity, which we are entitled to enjoy, to the lowest depth of desolation and ruin, that the unexampled resources of our country and the superhuman energies of our people would enable Democratic misrule to impose upon us. What are they?

You have first, as a financial experiment, in the form of what is called a Sub-treasury, which, if put into actual, practical operation, as intended and provided for by those who framed it, would display its ridiculous and deformed

features in such a light as would, within thirty days, drive it out of existence; but which, violated as it is, and is obliged to be every day and every hour, is a new-fangled invention, devised by those who were opposed to all banks, and proposed to have no other currency but that of precious metals—the operation of which, as now acted on, is to collect the revenue of the country, amounting, as it has done, to from sixty to seventy millions of dollars, to be locked up in a strong box, and never taken out, except for the purpose of defraying the expenses of the Government; and being paid out to those who had dealings with the Government, about as fast as it is paid in at the Custom Houses. This \$70,000,000 is not only withdrawn from the channels of trade, in which it might be safely and profitably employed, but is kept going round and round in a constant circle, by paying in and paying out—unseen and unfelt, unknown, as far as its benefits are concerned, to those who are engaged in commercial, manufacturing, agricultural, or other industrial pursuits, and had, for all purposes except those of the Government itself, as well be lying buried in the bowels of the earth in California, as in the Sub-treasury at Washington or New York.

The contractor who has the good fortune to be a favorite with the Government, the members of Congress who have appropriated to themselves \$6,000 for nine months' service, or rather for nine months neglect of the public interests—the Judges, members of the Cabinet, President, clerks, and other officials of the Government, who have a certain fixed pay at all seasons, and amid all calamities, are interested in this \$70,000,000, but nobody else derives any more benefit from it than if it had been left undug in the mountains, or unwashed from the streams of California. Whilst that same amount of 70,000,000, properly employed in the channels of trade, and forming a basis for a substantial and indispensable paper circulation, and yet answering all the purposes of the Government, would give new life, a fresh impulse, and masculine vigor to business of every kind, that would make every individual in the country who was willing and able to work, contented, prosperous and happy, especially when brought in connection with a judicious commercial system, which I shall next consider.

But this is your Democratic financial system—the great panacea for all monetary ills, which locks up all the money that is not sent abroad, whilst you may boast of a commercial system, which sends abroad all that is not locked up.

Great efforts have been made to involve in mystery, and to treat as one of the occult sciences, what is termed "*political economy*." Learned writers and closet theorists have pretended to invest the subject with a degree of profundity beyond the reach of common understandings, and our unfortunate country has been subjected to the control of a class of statesmen, or of persons occupying the position that statesmen only ought to fill—who, disregarding the example and admonition of all our own most enlightened men, commencing with Washington, and those to whom we are indebted for the Constitution under which we live, and coming down to within the last few years, when the



country could boast of a Clay, a Webster, and an Adams, shutting their eyes to the lights of their own observation and experience, have pertinaciously insisted upon having this government administered upon the antiquated notions of one Adam Smith, who never dreamed of applying his theory to a government like ours; for he wrote long before, and died about the time our government was formed; but who recommended a policy for England, which England had then, and has always had, too much wisdom to adopt or listen to; until by their experiments we are reduced to a condition that has destroyed our manufacturing interests, crippled our commerce, overwhelmed us with debt, and brought this great Government of the United States, that ought to shoot far ahead of the mightiest in resources and wealth, to a state of bankruptcy in a time of profound peace; and which has now to support itself by loans, and the issue of treasury notes, or promises to pay, which they are not able to redeem. Now, what is political economy? Nothing upon the face of the earth, but domestic economy, on a larger scale, the only difference being that domestic economy is applied to individuals and families, and political economy to political bodies or states.

Now, let us test this question of political economy by the more simple and familiar analogy of what we understand as domestic economy.

Suppose a farmer having a very large estate, with laborers enough to cultivate his lands to great advantage, and by diversifying their employments has been enabled for a series of years not only to supply all dependent upon him with whatever was consumed upon the estate, but to lay up a large surplus at the end of each year for the benefit of his children. He then engages a manager to superintend his business, who has been studying Adam Smith's theory of Free Trade, and *he* concludes that his employer had been doing a very unprofitable business, as he could buy all he consumed for less money than it cost him to make it; he enters into a calculation, and finds that whilst it costs him fifty cents a bushel for all the corn he can make, some neighbors, whose lands are more productive and whose labor is cheaper than his own, can sell it for forty-five cents; that his potatoes cost him forty cents, whilst his neighbor can sell for thirty-five; the pork he raises costs him six dollars per hundred weight, when he can buy for five and a half; his cotton cloth costs ten cents a yard when he can buy for nine; his shoes costs eighty cents a pair, and he can buy for seventy-five, and so on with wheat, oats, barley, beans, hay and rye, and throughout the whole catalogue of articles he could produce for himself; and he were to conclude: "This thing of working my own farm, and giving employment to my own labor, is all humbug, and each year's operation brings the estate nearer and nearer to ruin.

"I will stop it, and try Mr. Adam Smith's plan of free trade for a while, and buy where I can buy cheapest, except a few articles, such as cotton and tobacco, which the climate and soil of my neighbor will not enable him to raise; and as I cannot find a market for all the cotton and tobacco the estate could make, I will employ just one-half my force and leave the rest in idleness, to



take care of themselves. So he says to his people, my good women, you may burn your spinning wheels and your looms, for I shall have no more spinning and weaving done on this farm. My good men, you can lay aside your ploughs and your wagons and carts, and shovels and hoes, for I shall raise no more corn, nor potatoes, nor hogs, nor wheat, nor oats, nor hay, nor barley, nor beans; and one-half of you may go about your business, as I shall have no use for you during the year." The laborers ask, "Well, master, what are we to do? how are we to live if you won't cultivate your fields and give us employment?" "Ah!" says he, "that is your business; the plantation is large enough to hold you all, and you must shift for yourselves as best you can, but you cannot do any more work for me." "But, master, we cannot live without food and clothing, and you won't let us stay on the farm and starve or go naked?" "No, of course not, but I had rather buy than make your food and clothing, for I can get it cheaper elsewhere than I can produce it." So he turns one-half of his lands out of cultivation, and one-half of his force out of employment.

At the end of the year, instead of having a well regulated discipline on his farm, everything is in confusion—a general insubordination prevails, the unemployed hands have been indulging in all sorts of dissipation and vice, drinking and stealing, fighting and filibustering, and whatever else is likely to accompany a state of idleness; and instead of having a handsome surplus of money to hand over to his employer, the cotton and tobacco he has made, have not paid for much more than half he has had to buy; and he has consequently, gone largely in debt. But still enamored with his free trade theory, he continues the system until the estate becomes impoverished and almost bankrupt. This is what would be called the domestic economy, or the economy of an individual, on the free trade plan.

The employer now finds it necessary to change his manager, and he selects one of good, sound practical common sense, who relies more upon facts than theories, and more upon experience than books. He goes to work and brings order out of confusion; he sets all the hands on the farm to work, brings all the land he can into cultivation, diversifies the employment of his labor, produces not only enough for the consumption of the whole estate, but to exchange for the articles of tea and coffee, brandy and wines, silks, laces, satins, velvets, and such articles as are used in the family, and cannot be made at home, and then hands over, from the surplus of production, a handsome sum of money to his employer to be added to his general stock. And this is what is called the domestic economy, or the economy of an individual, on the plain of *protection to home industry and home labor*. Contrast the difference between the two, and say under which system you would prefer to live, and which manager you would prefer to employ to manage your own estates.

Now, if the domestic economy, practiced by the buying farmer, leads him to ruin, and the domestic economy practiced by the selling farmer leads him to wealth, why will not the same policy lead to the same results when the example of either is followed by neighbor after neighbor, and farmer after

farmer, until it has extended itself throughout the whole State, and thus becomes what is termed the political economy of the State? And between the policy, or economy of these two farmers, you have, illustrated, in a simple and intelligible form, the whole difference between the policy or economy recommended by our best and wisest men, from Washington to Henry Clay and Daniel Webster, on the one hand, to Adam Smith and John C. Calhoun on the other.

Go with me one step further, and imagine that this great national farm called the United States, with its millions of laborers, all of whom are to be clothed and fed, whether in employment or otherwise, should be under the direction of a national steward or overseer, such as Polk, Pierce, or Buchanan, who should have a fancy for the free trade or *buying abroad* system, and that Great Britain, France, &c., are the neighbors who raise and sell cheap, and the whole problem of free trade and protection is solved, so that it can be comprehended by the most common understanding.

But, it is maintained that our Government has nothing to do with the labor of its citizens, and that it is a violation of its duty to protect its industry. Was a greater fallacy, or to use a stronger term, was a grosser absurdity ever before, or elsewhere, uttered, by men who claimed to be practical statesmen, and who assumed the high responsibility of administering a government!

What were the original objects in the formation of governments? Was it not, in great part, to protect the lives and the property of the weaker from the stronger members of society? And whilst all acknowledge the obligation to protect the *property* of each individual citizen, it is held to be a violation of duty to protect the *industry* and *labor* of the citizen, which is the foundation and source of all property.

Such doctrines deserve to be characterized as discreditable to an enlightened civilization, and as fit only for the darker and more barbarous ages. England, France, Austria, Prussia, the Free Cities of Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Russia, and even China, all repudiate so visionary and ruinous a policy. Others take example from the lessons of nature, as exemplified in the workings of the bee, that never permits a drone to encumber the hive, but requires each one to become an active, industrious member of society, not only supplying itself with honey during the summer, but laying up a common stock for the necessities of winter.

But, they say again, is it right to compel a man to buy at home when he can buy cheaper abroad? My answer, in the first place is, I deny the fact that he can buy cheaper abroad, for everyman who knows anything about it, knows that nothing so much reduces prices as home competition, and that everything in the market bears a proportionate price; so that if the tailor has to pay his boot maker seven instead of five dollars for a pair of boots, the tailor in turn makes the boot maker pay him thirty instead of twenty-five dollars for his coat; that if the doctor has to pay his butcher two shillings a pound for

beef instead of one, the doctor in turn raises his price to twelve shillings instead of eight for his daily visits; and if the agriculturist has to pay the manufacturer ten cents instead of eight for cotton cloth, the manufacturer in turn pays the agriculturist sixty cents instead of fifty for his corn, and twelve dollars instead of ten for his pork, and so on through all the ramifications of society. This condition of things was fully illustrated by the general prices of all things in California a few years ago, when labor was worth \$20 a day, and an orange or an apple would sell for \$1.00, and a common meal for five.

But, in the second place, I answer that if any man or set of men, engaged in any particular branch of business, are required to give a little more for the article manufactured at home than for that obtained from abroad, he or they have no right to ask that the legislation of the country should be regulated and shaped for his, or their benefit, against the interests of the great body of the whole. If they desire to go abroad to purchase, let them go abroad, they have a right to do it; but they have no right to require or to ask Government to adopt a system of legislation that will bring the foreign article from abroad for their benefit, when it is to operate injuriously to the general community at home. And I hope this view of the subject will be well considered.

Let us see how this policy operates, particularly upon the articles of coal and iron, the chief agents of the greatness, and wealth, and power of a state; and the same argument that applies to them will apply to every other article that can be manufactured in the country.

In Pennsylvania and Virginia, as well as in other States, we have mountains of iron, on one side, and mountains of coal on the other, with hundreds and thousands of unemployed hands, covering their sides and their base, ready to take them from the bowels of the earth, and mould that iron into form for national defenses, for railroad, agricultural, manufacturing, and all other industrial purposes; and yet, by the policy of our Government, we say, no! let the iron be imbedded in the earth, let the coal rest where Nature has formed it, let the labor remain in idleness—there is iron, and coal, and labor in Europe that we prefer to employ; it is better for us to send our money abroad, and encourage the industry of those who are foreign to us, than keep that money at home and lay it out in your labor, and our own mineral resources. You have no claims on the friendly legislation of this Government. It is better for us to pay \$45 a ton for iron in Europe, than to pay \$50 to you; and, therefore, you may starve, or steal, or rot, but you can get no help from us.

And there these poor laborers, with families of children famishing for food, stand day after day, with their arms folded in idleness and poverty, in anguish and sorrow, to look upon the iron horse, as it passes swiftly by their doors, freighted with the iron from abroad, to supply the demands of those who would lend a willing ear to their supplications for work, but that this Democratic Government has closed the furnaces and the foundries, and the

manufactories, and left them no alternative but to purchase abroad or go without—and this is regarded as a strict test of Democracy; and these poor, deluded, misguided men will go the next day to the polls and bless the hand that smites them, by hurrahing for Democracy, and voting for the very men that have caused their ruin.

When I was in Venice, a little over a year ago, after visiting other places of notoriety and interest, I went to the old Ducal Palace, in which, in former days, the Inquisition was held and the torture was inflicted upon so many helpless and innocent thousands, in the days of the Republic. I passed from hall to hall, through the chambers of the Council of Ten to the Council of Three; then down, down, down, into the deep, dark dungeons below, shut out from the clear light of God and the pure air of Heaven; where no ray, but that of the dim light of the guide, even at this day, can penetrate; where instruments of torture and human bones lay mouldered and crumbled into dust. I passed up again, to the Bridge of Sighs, which leads to that portion of the building now used as a prison house, and for what other purposes we were not permitted to know; and as I stood in profound meditation on that bridge, I asked myself the question—"In what name, and under what disguise has the greatest amount of revolting wickedness, and hideous sin been committed?" And I answered to myself—"Religion." Next, I asked—"In what name, and under what disguise, has the greatest amount of wrong and injustice been done?" And I answered to myself, "*Justice.*" And, lastly, "In what name, and under what disguise, has the greatest amount of deception, insincerity, and imposition been practiced upon the incredulity of a confiding, honest-minded, and patriotic people?" And I answered unhesitatingly "*Democracy.*"

But to return to the subject. All men will admit that if a man possessing an income of \$10,000 a year spends \$20,000 he must, sooner or later come to the end of his estate; and, I presume, none will be hardy enough to question that the same rule, and the same result, will attend a nation that annually spends millions more than its productions will yield. Let us see what has been the practical working of free trade and protection.

Under the protective tariff of '42 our imports in five years, from 1843 to 1847, amounted to \$165,590,672; and our exports, during the same time, amounted to \$527,966,344; showing an excess of exports, or a balance of trade, in our favor, of \$62,375,672, and under the operations of that tariff, this balance of trade was going on, steadily increasing, having in the last year of its operation (1847,) reached the sum of \$31,317,219. The country was rapidly recovering from the calamitous results of low duties, or the free trade policy growing out of the compromise act of 1832, under which the great revulsion of 1837 took place, and which was one of the prominent causes of Mr. Van Buren's defeat in 1840.

But this was not a Democratic measure. It was a part of Mr. Clay's American system, and to defeat him it was necessary to renounce and condemn his

policy, without regard to the consequences resulting to the country; and that law of '42 was repealed, and the tariff of '46, or free trade tariff, as it was called, was substituted in its stead.

Now let us see what was the operation of this tariff, during the next succeeding eight years, for I have not brought my researches down below the year 1855.

During these eight years, our imports amounted to the sum of \$1,591,475,-608, whilst our exports amounted to only \$1,328,141,909, showing an excess or balance of trade against us, of \$263,331,906; and that, too, under the fraudulent invoices that the President, in his last annual message to Congress, is obliged, reluctantly, to confess, have been made under the Democratic *ad valorem* system of duties.

And here I will remark, that a habit has, of late years, crept into the Treasury department, of classifying, under the head of *exports*, all the gold and silver, the permanent, fixed basis of all the currency of the country, which it is the object of all trade to receive, and keep in exchange for the perishable productions of industry—thereby creating the general impression that the exports, as enumerated in the returns, constitute a portion of the raw materials or articles manufactured from it, or other ordinary productions of the country; and thus our exports are magnified so as to make our sales, on the balance sheet, approximate, as nearly as possible, to our purchases—as, for example, in enumerating the exports for the year 1857, will be found in gold and silver coin, \$28,777,372, and of gold and silver bullion, \$31,300,980, making the sum of \$60,078,352 of the precious metals, which have been sent over to pay for the excess of our purchases; just as if it were of the perishable articles of cotton, rice, tobacco, or cotton cloths. To this may be added, as furnishing another delusive view of the subject, the re-exportation of all manufactured articles that have previously been imported.

Of our exports in '57, amounting to \$338,985,065, including the articles already mentioned, we exported only about \$30,000,000 of manufactured goods, as I have lately seen; whilst the exports of England were, in round numbers, about \$310,000,000, and nearly all of manufactured goods—a very large proportion of which was from the raw material obtained from us—worked up, and sent back to us, amongst the rest, with the cost of English labor, which, with all other additional expense, we had to pay. This will serve to show the encouragement given by English statesmen, and English policy—and I may properly add, by *American statesmen and American policy*, to English labor, in preference to our own.

France exported, during the same year, upwards of \$370,000,000; it may be said, almost, entirely and exclusively of goods *manufactured* by the labor of France; thus showing the wisdom of the French government, too, in giving employment to the labor and industry of their people; whilst our democratic rulers hold that it violates the duties and obligations of government to adopt a system of legislation friendly to the labor and industry of its own citizen.



Can any Government on earth live and thrive under such a system as this, and will not the people take the matter into their own hands before a general state of ruin and desolation stares us all in the face?

But the President says, in his message, "the tariff of 1857 had no agency in bringing about this result," that is, of the disaster of that year. Certainly not! It was all done before; and nothing could then have stayed the hurricane that swept over the country and the world, and which would have been brought on long before it was, but for the unexpected and unforeseen influx of gold from California in the first place, all of which has gone into the workshops of Europe, and enriched their laborers—and the Irish famine in the second, that created so large a demand for breadstuffs abroad, and which yielded a temporary relief—and the unlimited credit we had in Europe, where money was worth much less than it was here. But the first moment a panic prevailed, as was occasioned by the failure of the Ohio Life and Trust Company, and demands for payment were made, then pay-day had arrived, and everything tottered to its foundation.

There are some who pretend not to see how our difficulties in the United States so affected the whole world.

Let such an one set 1,000 bricks in a line on their ends, as the boys do, and then throw down the first against the second, and the operations will be explained to them. The trouble commenced here—and if Brown, Brothers & Co., or Duncan, Sherman & Co. (I only instance the names of these gentlemen for illustration, and because they are considered the safest and strongest in the country) could not have met their engagements to Mr. George Peabody, of London, or Brown, Shiply & Co., of Liverpool, as other parties could not, and did not, it would not be surprising if Brown, Shiply & Co., and George Peabody could not have met their engagements with their friends and creditors on the Continent; and so through all the various and multitudinous engagements and obligations between the United States and the rest of the world. If A don't pay B, B can't pay C, C can't pay D, and so on, or if, like the bricks, A knocks down B, B in turn knocks down C, and so on through the alphabet

To be more specific: At the time this difficulty came on, the indebtedness on this side of the water to Europe may reasonably be estimated at not less than six hundred millions of dollars. I say this, because, about the year 1852, Mr. Abbott Lawrence, who was then our Minister to England, took much pains to ascertain the amount then due, and he estimated it at \$450,000,000. Taking, then, the balance of the trade against us in that year, of \$40,141,548, and that again of 1853, which was \$61,202,196, and in 1854, \$60,499,589, and in 1855, \$38,899,205—making, in these four years, the sum of \$200,742,538, which, with a balance in the year 1856, that I have not at hand, should be added to the \$450,000,000, together with the interest that had accumulated (as the gold and silver shipped by steamer after steamer was not enough to keep this item down), it will be seen that \$600,000,000 is rather within than beyond the probable amount of our indebtedness, on every account, to Europe.



Now, suppose this amount of paper in various forms, which had served as trading capital abroad, is suddenly suspended—a panic ensues, and there is a general failure on this side to meet the obligations due on the other. All confidence in this species of capital is at once destroyed, and it no longer answers the purposes of trade or exchange. Is it difficult to understand how it would affect the monetary concerns of the whole world?

What portion of this enormous debt has been extinguished by fair bona fide payments—how much has been liquidated by bankruptcy—how much has been compromised at twenty, thirty or fifty cents in the dollar, I have no means of forming a conjecture. But we will suppose it all to have been paid off—which is very far from the fact—and that we have now to take a fresh start; what, then, is to be our future, under the present system, if it shall be continued.

In a little while, Yankee ingenuity and enterprise—I use the term Yankee, in its national sense—aided by the unexampled resources of the country will begin to push matters ahead again. There will be a partial recovery from the present depression; confidence in American securities will gradually be restored; heavy importations will be made; the European manufacturers will get the entire control of our markets; the balance of trade will go on steadily increasing, from year to year, against us; another enormous debt will be created; the sub-treasury will be replenished; the gold and silver, not required for revenue and for locking up, will be sent out of the country, as heretofore, to keep down, as much as possible, the rapidly accumulating interest; then some bubble will burst, or another Ohio Life and Trust Insurance Company will fail; a panic will set in; confidence will again be destroyed; payments will be demanded; there will be nothing left in the country to meet them; the banks will be compelled, in order to save themselves, to protect their debtors; a suspension comes again, another universal “smash up” will ensue; and we shall have the same scenes to go over again that we have just passed through; and every cause but the right one will be assigned for it by those who have produced all the mischief.

Why do I say this? Because “*Like begets like*,” and similar causes produce similar results. Because this has been the operation of the system whenever it has been tried, and will be the operation again, if continued, just as surely as that a well-constructed locomotive will go ahead when a full head of steam is applied. It is the natural working of the machinery, and it cannot be avoided.

The natural instincts of “a burnt child” teach him “to dread the fire.” Why will not the common sense of grown men, who have been scorched almost to a cinder by Democracy, teach them also to dread a further repetition of those fatal experiments which the political Dr. Sangrados at Washington have already resolved to try.

Yet, this visionary, speculative, experimental and destructive closet theory of Adam Smith, taken up by Mr. Calhoun (who, although a bright, but erratic genius, was always wanting in that first great element of true greatness, to

wit, practical utility), but this theory, taken up by him, and pressed by the peculiar school of politicians who followed wherever he chose to lead, holding, as they did, the balance of power between the two great parties of the country—forced it upon the Democracy as a party measure, and it was substituted for the matured wisdom and teachings of Washington, the elder Adams, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe (Calhoun himself in 1816–17), Adams, Jackson, Clay, Webster, and all of the most prominent of their cotemporaries; and by that inexorable and unyielding rule of the party, of which I have already spoken, it has been adhered to with all the tenacity of death, notwithstanding its bitter, poisonous, and life-destroying fruits have been seen, and felt and tasted.

In surveying the present condition of the country, the task would be but imperfectly performed if we were to overlook the present condition of the Public Treasury, the expenditures of Government, and the means by which it is now carried on. But I shall not dwell long upon it; I shall only say so much as will be sufficient to attract public attention to it, and I shall simply present it as it is exhibited by the President's message to Congress, but in a more simple, and I hope, more intelligible form.

It appears, then, that on the 1st day of June, 1857, the commencement of the fiscal year, there was \$17,710,114.27 surplus in the Treasury.

When the troubles of 1857 broke out, the Administration, confident that their favorite party scheme of the Sub-treasury was beyond the reach of these periodical revulsions, as Mr. Buchanan calls them (and, by-the-by, if he had investigated the matter a little more closely, he would have found that these periods had always followed close on the heels of low duties and free trade, and never under a protective duty), were engaged in the lucrative business of buying up the bonds of the United States, not then due for some fifteen years, at a premium of 16 or 18 per cent., as they had several times done before, for the privilege of unlocking the Sub-treasury door, and restoring to the channels of the trade what, as I have said before, should never have been withdrawn from it; and having disposed of \$9,684,537.99 in this way, and whilst they were boasting of the perfection of the system, which they said would always protect the Government from want, we heard the gurgling cry, as of a drowning man, issuing from the vaults of that same Sub-treasury, of "Help me Cassius, or I sink." And an application was made to Congress in less than thirty days for authority to issue \$20,000,000 of *treasury notes*; and within a very short period after that another application was made and obtained for the *loan* of \$20,000,000 more; all of which, together with the regular annual revenues of the Government, is now expended, and, by authority, they are now reissuing these treasury notes as fast as they can be redeemed, and thus the Government, without any checks or balances, has been converted into a great, irresponsible, banking institution, with a circulating medium of \$20,000,000, which they are not able to redeem, and have, on some occasions, refused to redeem when presented for payment.

So that this administration has, in two years, not only disposed of all the accruing revenues, but spent the balance of the surplus remaining in the Treasury; run up the public debt from 25 to \$65,000,000, and, although the estimated receipts for the present year will fall \$40,000,000 below the estimated expenditures, which will increase the debt to \$105,000,000, yet the President asks, as I have shown, for \$50,000,000 more for treaty and war-making purposes—the former of which, if it could be accomplished, would add two or three hundred millions more to the debt; and the latter might lead to a sum that no man can begin to calculate.

I said, in my African Church speech, in 1856—that if it was not for the boldest audacity that ever controlled a reckless party, they would come forward, in a spirit of humility and shame; acknowledge their incapacity to regulate and control the affairs of this great nation, and ask to be relieved of its responsibilities. What I said then, I take occasion to repeat here. The President tells us that the estimated expenditures of the present, and next succeeding fiscal year, will fall considerably short of the estimated receipts, and, of course, the deficiency is to be supplied by another, and another, and another loan, as circumstances may require; and all this when we are at peace with all the world; and exclusive of the \$50,000,000 with which it is proposed he shall be invested to involve us in war, if he thinks fit (and to establish a Protectorate in Mexico without her consent, which, of itself, is war to all intents and purposes, as I have said before), and for the negotiation of a treaty for the purchase of Cuba—and yet, this is the party that claims to be the only party in this country capable of administering, or worthy of being intrusted with the administration of the Government.

It is but an act of justice to one member of the Democratic party, upon whom the weight of responsibility rests too heavily to be borne, to say that he has recanted a portion of his false doctrines, has renounced the error of his way, and paid a just tribute to the far-reaching sagacity of his political opponents—and that is, Mr. Buchanan, the President himself; who acknowledges the error of the Democratic party in establishing and adhering to the *ad valorem* system of duties, and now recommends the system of *specific* duties, which has always been a great bone of contention between the parties; and the reason he assigns for the change, although modestly and cautiously said, nevertheless it is said, and we are thankful that he has said it—notwithstanding this, the party bound by that inexorable rule, will not yield to his suggestions, because it would be giving up a party measure, and that would be an acknowledgement of their *fallibility*, which they and the Roman Catholic church never admit.

He says—"In my deliberate judgment, specific duties *are the best*, if not the only means of securing the revenue against false and fraudulent invoices, and such has been the practice adopted for this purpose by other commercial nations—besides specific duties *would afford to the American manufacturer the incidental advantages to which he is fairly entitled under a revenue tariff.*"

There it is! And that is just precisely what we have been trying to impress upon the popular mind, and upon the Democracy in particular, for the last 25 years. But I am afraid it has come from the President too late to be of any service to the country—he has filled all his appointments; there are no vacancies in the cabinet, and no more foreign missions to be filled, and if there were the term of duration is getting to be rather short.

If he had made this recommendation when he first came into power, when he held four full years of patronage in the hollow of his hand, what influence it might have had, especially if persevered in, and pressed with the same earnestness and vigor that the Lecompton Constitution was, it is difficult to tell. Then, indeed, there would have been strong hope that the country might have realized some advantage from his administration.

But it appears to me a very pertinent inquiry might here be made. If the President is in earnest in his recommendation, and knows that false and fraudulent invoices are daily resorted to under the *ad valorem* system, by which the revenues of the Government are stolen, and if he believes the American manufacturers are deprived of advantages that they are entitled to incidentally or otherwise, why does he not make these important matters a test of Democratic orthodoxy as he did of the Lecompton Constitution? Why does he not require those occupying positions of influence and power by his own appointment, to aid him in protecting the Government from being swindled, and securing to that important class of his fellow-citizens all the rights to which they are entitled?

By the suffrages of the people, Mr. Buchanan is the head of the Government, and upon him devolves the duty of seeing the laws faithfully executed, and upon him also rests the responsibility for their violation, so far as it is in his power to prevent it. Why, then, when he makes one recommendation does his Secretary of the Treasury interpose the influence of his position to to thwart the views of the President, which must necessarily divide the party?

I think there is but one solution to the question. The President and Secretary are both Democratic politicians! They both belong to that great IMPOSITION party of the country, and they are playing a game of *hob-nob* with the people. It is Cobb! you tickle the South under the *ad valorem* rib; and Buck! you tickle Pennsylvania and the North under the specific rib: and this will furnish ground of defense for the party in each section of the country. In one section they can swear by the President, and in the other by the Secretary. This is one of the party tricks not unfrequently played in manufacturing platforms that will read any way you may desire, to delude and cheat the people. If this is not the true secret, I do not see how either gentleman can be content to hold his present political relations with the other.

Mr. Cobb is one of my most intimate friends, for whom I entertain great personal regard; but I am dealing with these gentlemen as politicians and not as friends; and I feel assured that Mr. Cobb would not willingly throw



himself in the path of the President upon so important a question, if there were not some understanding between them. It may be a sharp game, but it is not a strong one, and it won't pay—for as long as the Democratic party is in power, it must stand responsible for its own measures; but if it could *divide* the responsibility, then the Secretary of the Treasury and his wing must bear the responsibility of encouraging frauds upon the public revenues; whilst the President must bear the responsibility of suffering the laws to be violated, and these thefts to be committed, and his fellow-citizens to be cheated out of rights to which they are entitled, when, by the efforts and influence of a united Cabinet, all this wrong might be avoided.

This is not the only compliment he pays to the American system of Mr. Clay. He recognizes the right of the General Government to embark in internal improvements too, and to appropriate money for the most gigantic scheme ever yet proposed in the United States, being for nothing less than a railroad to the Pacific.

To be sure the old gentleman, feeling that he is traveling over new-made ground, treads very cautiously, as if he were walking on rotten ice, and disclaims all power to make such appropriations, *except* under the war-making power. Very well! be it so! We care not where the power lies, or in what clause of the Constitution it is to be found; it is enough for us to know that it is there, whether under the war-making power, the commercial power, the power to protect the lives and property of our citizens, or the post road power, is a matter of no consequence.

It is there, and that is enough. If the Opposition should ever obtain the ascendancy, I hope they will use the power with all proper discretion—but it does seem to me that if we have the power to build a railroad to the Pacific, in order to protect our now defenseless Pacific possessions, and to supply our people with provisions, and troops, and munitions of war, when engaged in actual hostilities, it cannot well be denied that we have the same power to remove the obstructions to the navigation of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, to send our troops in time of war from the Western and Middle and Northern States to defend the city of New Orleans or the State of Texas, in time of war also, and that we have the right to improve our rivers, and harbors, and lakes, which constitute the great highways of commerce, just as we now exercise the right of erecting light-houses for the same purpose.

Having thus shown the actual condition of the country, which is a sorrowful, but not overdrawn picture, and the causes that have, in my best judgment, led to it, the inquiry remains to be answered, what is the remedy? And the first thing to be done, as I think, is to get rid of Democracy! and there is but one way of doing that, and that is, by a union of all the elements of opposition to it. Neither the Republican party, the American party, nor the Whig party, into which the Opposition is divided, is strong enough to beat the Democracy by itself. Neither of the two, combined, can do it—if the third element is left to cast its vote for, or divide it with, the Democracy. One of these parties may have a great surplus of strength in some of the States, which will be of no service to them in other States, more equally divided, and which, if carried for Democracy will elect their candidate.

The next step is to abate, at all events for the present, all sectional issues and agitation. God grant, in his mercy, that it could be done, not only now, but for ever! But this *must* be done to prevent a sectional issue, upon which all the Southern States will be united in favor of the Democracy, when it will require very little aid from New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Indiana, to give them another triumph.

Is such a coalition likely to be formed? I can see strong indications that it may be; but I confess, at the same time, I see much to discourage the hope, and to occasion a painful apprehension, that the Democracy, now in a minority of more than half a million, may, through our dissensions and divisions, be again successful.

I know there are some impracticable people who say they are opposed to all



coalition, and who would rather sink to the bottom in a political contest, and be kept under the heel of despotism contending for some unattainable principle, than to be indebted for a success by which an infinite deal of good might be accomplished to those who cannot endorse their whole entire creed. That is not the case with me. If I cannot get all I want, I will take all I can get.

If I were at sea, 1,000 miles from shore, and I found the ship had sprung a leak, and was fast going down—and whilst I was laboring with all my energies to stop that leak any other passenger or person were to come up and offer his assistance, I would not stop to inquire what was his religion, what his politics, or what his profession; but I would take him by the hand and say, go to work, my good fellow, let us stop this leak and save the ship, save our own lives, save the crew and cargo, and if there is to be any quarrel between us about the distribution of the cargo, let us postpone that until we get safely into port.

This, it appears to me, would be the course that practical wisdom and common sense would dictate; and if the ship should be lost, because such aid was rejected, it would be sorry consolation to the owners, to be told that she went down because it was a *marine*, and not a *sailor*, that would have saved her.

Our country now is in that sinking condition; it is traveling, with railroad speed, down an inclined plane, to destruction—and the only question for us to decide, and we must decide it quickly, is whether we shall supply the breaks or clap on more steam. I am for applying the brake, and the man who has the most power, for the application, is the *Brakesman* that I want, and am in search of. I will not stop to ask what have been the politics of any man who will help me to do it.

But we want a man who will do something more than beat the Democracy. We want no barren victory, which if possible, is worse than defeat. We want a wise, reflecting, judicious statesman. We want a man who will discharge his duty freely, and fearlessly in healing all sectional animosities; who will put down all Southern leagues; who will see that the laws are faithfully executed; that mob laws and lawless violence is restrained; that this growing spirit of filibustering, or to call it by its right name, this piratical cruising and seizing of other people's property, either on the high seas, or on the friendly territory of our neighbors, is not only arrested, but punished.

We want, a man who, as the representative of the whole nation, will act in that enlarged, enlightened, national and catholic spirit, that will recognize the just rights of all, and not exert his influence nor the influence of his office for any section of the country, against another section, upon any sectional or other issue.

To speak it plainly, we want a man who will turn his attention, and the attention of the government, to the interests of the *White race*, and let slavery take care of itself, as it *surely* can and *surely* will, where it exists under the Constitution and the local law that protects it, and where no one must, and no one can, be permitted (and no party, as far as I know, is disposed) to interrupt it, but those who have the legal control of it.

As for the further extension of Slave territory, that question has been finally settled by the Southern Democracy for themselves, when they repealed the Missouri Compromise; and they must abide the result of their own action. and there is but one possible means by which Slave territory can ever be enlarged under this Government, as I told them in 1854, and that is, by the farther *acquisition* of Slave territory, as by the attainment of Cuba, for example; and that can never be done by the Slave States without the aid of Free.

We want a man whose antecedents will secure the confidence of his country, and who will look to the Constitution as his platform, and the only one upon which the Government can be safely, wisely, or properly administered, and the only one that contains the elements of strength within itself for enforcing all its provisions.

We want a man, who, instead of encouraging mischievous legislation, stirring up sectional strife for party and political purposes, shrinking *from*, rather than meeting the responsibilities of his position, when disunionists threaten the longer existence of the Republic, and lawless, wicked men, bid

defiance to the laws, will imitate the example of the other great powers of the earth, by advancing with steady and rapid strides to the development of all those natural and industrial resources that constitute the material progress of a nation, and lead to the wealth and power and greatness of the State.

We want a man who, without being parsimonious or illiberal, will reduce the expenditures of the Government to a fairly economical point, and urge a policy that will keep our money at home to encourage American Industry, rather than send it abroad to be laid out in the work-shops of Europe.

We want a man who will elevate the standard of virtue and morality among our public men at home, and raise the intellectual standard of those who represent us abroad.

We want a man who will give an impetus rather to the *improvement* of what we have, than to the farther *expansion* of the country.

We want a man who will not permit the energies and interests of this great nation any longer to yield to that eternal, everlasting and exhaustless question of Slavery.

Can no such man be found either North, or South, East, or West? If he can, let him be brought forward, and I, for one, will "wear him in my heart of hearts," and bless God, in his kind Providence, for having spared the man that can save his country!

The Democratic party is now routed, it is broken, its forces scattered. Will the Republican party unite with us in forming a patriotic "Holy Alliance," on fair and honorable terms, involving no sacrifice of principle to any party—that we may meet them at Waterloo, in 1860, and extirpate them forever; or will they pursue a selfish policy, by which alone the Democracy can collect and rally and conquer? A sectional issue must, inevitably, produce this result, whilst nothing else can.

For myself, I say here, in advance, that let the election in 1860 take what turn it may, with the convictions as they are now fastened on my mind, as a patriot and an honest man, I cannot, and I will not, give my support to one who belongs to the present organization of the Democratic party, let the consequences be what they may. I may become an inactive or an armed neutral, but a supporter of Democracy, as at present organized, I can never be.

Having thus far expressed my own sentiments, for which nobody else is responsible, with a hope that they may be received by my countrymen as an admonition from one, who, for the last thirty years, has watched closely the movements of public men, and of political parties, I feel that I am not at liberty to take my seat without having a few words to say in relation to that Organization, through whose kind invitation I have had the honor of addressing this audience.

There are many, who, since Americanism has lost the sweeping power with which it rushed like a hurricane over the country a few years ago, find it convenient, and perhaps politic, to denounce it in all its forms, and to express regret that they had ever formed a connection with it.

Not so with me! I am proud to acknowledge and proclaim that I am one of the Order of United Americans, whose principles are sound, whose objects are patriotic, and whose ends are for the good of the whole, whether of native or foreign birth.

We are no enemies to foreigners. We know that there are many good, and wise, and virtuous men among them, who are conservative in their views, patriotic in their aims, and eminently useful as citizens. If all were so, then no American organization would have been necessary, in our free and hospitable land, and if our constitution enabled us to draw a line of distinction, between the virtuous and the vicious, the men of substance and the men of straw, the men of independence and the purchased hireling, the men of reason, and the men of passion—we would gladly separate the worthy from the worthless, and admit the one, and shut out the other from all participation in the management of those institutions, which, for the sake of our war-worn fathers, for our own sakes, and for the sake of our children, and our children's children, we feel bound to hand

down unimpaired, as we received them from those who went before us. But we have seen a policy adopted, in those old countries that are glutted with a population they cannot support, or employ to advantage—throwing wide open their prison houses, and their almshouses, and belching forth upon our shores, thousands of idle, dissolute, worthless and depraved men, who are not only unused to, but unfit for, self-government, never caring to claim the benefits of the law of naturalization, or the right of voting, until unworthy appliances are resorted to, to bring them up by companies, and battalions, and regiments, to swear, sometimes truly, and as often falsely, to the time they have been among us, and then march to the polls in solid column, and drive, by brute force, the quiet, peaceable, native citizen from the exercise of his birthright and birth-bought privilege, and then deposit their own vote, without knowing the names of their candidates, the principles they maintained, the offices they were to fill, and without caring for the consequences of their acts—led on by some designing and interested demagogue with money in one hand, and a whisky bottle in the other, and the cry of Democracy on his lips, they have followed wherever they were led, and have done whatever they were bid.

For twenty odd years we have seen the balance of power, in the division of parties, held by this class of people, through whose instrumentality Presidents have been elected, legislative bodies chosen, and the legislation of the country controlled.

We have felt and suffered under the withering and blighting influence that they have thus exercised. We have felt a painful apprehension for the safety of those institutions, which are as essential to the welfare and happiness, and as dear to the hearts of the substantial, and virtuous foreigners, as to ourselves; and we have believed, in the honesty and sincerity of our hearts, that a due regard to patriotism, and love of country, required at our hands some effort to abate this rapidly-increasing evil, which, if not controlled in time will become so powerful and effective as to make it resistless; for whilst no one apprehends they will ever constitute a majority of themselves, they will never lack for those who will profess a sympathy, and act in concert with them for the favors they can bestow, and with their constant reinforcements, they are becoming a more and more important element with each succeeding year.

There has been no general election in the United States for the last twenty-five years, in which the native vote was not very largely in opposition to the Democracy; yet how seldom have we succeeded, either in the State or national elections, until within a year or two past, when the native element has been aroused by the violence, folly and madness of the foreign population.

In the contest of 1856, the popular majority against the Democratic nominee was 378,000. Now take from his poll the solid, unbroken column of 7 or 800,000 foreign votes, and see what an immense disparity it leaves between the native elements of the Democracy and the Opposition. Yet the Democracy succeeded.

And now, I would ask, are there enough of American-born citizens, and foreigners now naturalized, to control our own affairs? And are we capable of doing so without further foreign aid? If so, why should it be sought and courted? Can it be a source of self congratulation to any reflecting mind, that an overwhelming majority of his own countrymen, equally interested in the welfare of the State with himself, questioning his policy and trembling for their mutual safety, should be beaten down, their counsels spurned, and they, themselves, excluded from all participation in their common concerns, by the aid of those, who, to a large extent, neither knew nor cared for what they did.

It is not proposed to interfere, in the slightest degree, with the acquired rights of those already here, and we could not if we would. We are even willing that those already here shall be allowed to go on and perfect their

claim, to participate with us, under the law as it now stands; but we ask for a prospective day of emancipation from this growing and rapidly increasing evil, before we are all overwhelmed.

Nor is it proposed to interfere with the subject of religion, or the religious worship of any portion of the people of the United States. The Order of United Americans is not now, and never has been, mixed up with any question relating to the church; and the other American organizations of the country never contemplated anything more than resistance to all attempts at an intermixture or union of Church and State. They never disputed the right of any one to connect himself with whatever church he might prefer, and to worship his Maker as his conscience might direct—but their purpose was to permit no church, of any denomination, to control the State, and no ecclesiastical order to govern the civil authority, nor force any particular religion upon the people, by legal enactment, for the exclusion of the bible from the common schools.

The kingdom of Christ is not of this world; it is not temporal, but spiritual; and whilst his disciples are commanded to obey the powers that be, they are expressly forbidden any usurpation of the civil authority, or control over temporal power.

For my own part, I should be more than willing that every foreigner, now upon our shores, or arriving here, within any given future day, within a limited period, should be allowed to go at once to the proper tribunal, and by declaring his intention, upon oath, to become a permanent citizen, take the oath of fidelity to the United States and become at once invested with every civil and religious privilege enjoyed by a native citizen; but I would withhold from him all political power, and let him wait patiently until his children, raised under republican institutions, nursed, as it were, by the milk of liberty from its mother's breast, should stand forth and claim, as we do now, that he has rights and privileges at home that do not belong to every traveling vagrant, that, from charity, he might choose to take into his household to protect from want and cold.

Under this regulation, they would become entitled to other privileges far more important to them than the right of voting—among them, the right of holding lands and transmitting them to their posterity, which in many of the States, my own among them, they cannot now do.

Another advantage they would derive would be, that they would be entitled to the protection of the flag of the United States, which I would require them also to protect, by performing militia duty.

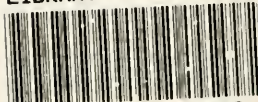
It constitutes no necessary part of the qualification of a citizen, that he should be entitled either to vote or hold a political office.

A man in my own State, who has sent or accepted a challenge to fight a duel, is disqualified from holding any office, legislative, executive, or judicial, of honor, profit or emolument—yet he is none the less a citizen for all that.

If I were to come to New York, with the intention of becoming a resident, and were to change my mind and return to Virginia within a year, a month or a week, I would be disqualified from voting for two years. I should be none the less a citizen, however; and this proposed extension of one important privilege for another that is of little value to them, and little cared for by a large portion of them, will serve to show that it is from no unfriendly spirit to them, but a firm belief that the safety of the country requires the sacrifice, if sacrifice it can be called, on their own account as well as ours.

Events are now in progress for the emancipation of the serfs of Russia, of whom there are no less than 35,000,000, and a very large portion of them proverbially the most beastly and degraded liars, drunkards, and rogues alive, who are incapable of making good laborers, good soldiers, or good citizens, or of being otherwise useful to the State. We may well suppose that the day will arrive, and at no very remote period, when it will become desirable to the government of Russia to be relieved of the





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Here, then, are from seven to ten millions of these miserable beings that the Emperor Alexander may desire to get rid of, and send off from his dominions. Where are they to go? where can room be found for them? where will they meet with a welcome home? where else but in the United States? where the Democracy will meet them on the shores with open arms, initiate them into the profound mysteries of their order, march them up in due time, in regimental order and numbers, to the courts, pay the expenses of their naturalization, lead them off to the polls, and claim, as the reward for their friendship, attention and civilities, an unconditional support of all Democratic nominees to office.

And, now, I ask the honest, patriotic masses of the Democracy, North and South, if they are prepared to admit as many of these people as may be sent amongst us to a full participation and enjoyment of all the privileges and rights bestowed upon us by our Constitution and laws as well as by our inheritance? And I ask them, furthermore, if they believe those rights and privileges and the unspeakable blessing of free government would be enjoyed long by them or ourselves, when this state of things shall exist.

I ask the naturalized citizen of respectability and substance if he sees no mischief here to be guarded against? I ask the unnaturalized foreigner who has children to raise and property to protect, if he would not feel that their interests and his own were better secured, and that free government stood on a firmer foundation by the exclusion of this mass of rottenness from the body politic than by its admittance into it? And then I ask of each one the question, whether he would not sooner yield his own claim to exercise political power than that it should be extended to all these, in order to take him in? For, as I said before, the Constitution allows of no distinction—we must take in all, or exclude all. And, finally, I ask, can we be condemned by any now amongst us for a desire to take timely steps for their protection and our own from such wholesale calamity as may result, if the present policy on the subject of naturalization shall be persevered in.

I do not hazard much by expressing the opinion, that the day is not remote when the principles of this American organization will command the respect and confidence of the entire nation, and, at all events, if is not esteemed as a virtue, it will not be condemned, even by the Democracy, as a vice—that we watched our liberties with a jealous eye, and professed more confidence in the councils and patriotism, and preferred the services and control of our own people, bad as they have been, and bad as they may be, hereafter, over that of any other people, no matter of what caste, religion or language, upon the face of the earth.

And now in conclusion, let me propose, that here, on this occasion, on the birth day of Washington, in his name, and in the presence of his spirit, we renew our protestations of undying devotion to that great work of his hands, THE UNION OF THE STATES, and pledge ourselves to each other and to mankind, that, "come what, come may," we will discountenance and repudiate all men, and all parties that encourage, or sympathize with, or tolerate any scheme for the destruction of our liberties, by a dissolution of our great and Heavenly descended Union, and that we will hold all men as traitors and enemies to the best gift a favored people ever received at the hands of Deity, who have, by word or deed, under any condition of things that has yet existed, or that is likely to exist, entertained the fiendish purpose of breaking up this great confederacy of States, or have,

"Like fools, rushed in where angels might fear to tread."

and impiously ventured upon a calculation of its value; whilst with "our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor," we swear to protect the stars and stripes through life, or make it our winding sheets in death.





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